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HAWAII HISTORICAL COMMISSION - PUBLICATIONS 1 1923-29

REPORT
of the
Historical Commission
of the
Territory of Hawaii

FOR THE TWO YEARS ENDING
DECEMBER 31, 1924



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MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION

HON. GEORGE R. CARTER, President.

MRS. A. P. TAYLOR, Vice-President.

DR. K. C. LEEBRICK, Secretary-Treasurer.

R. S. KUYKENDALL, Executive Secretary.

The office of the Commission is at the
University of Hawaii,
Honolulu, T. H.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Honolulu, Hawaii,
January 26, 1925.

To His Excellency Governor W. R. Farrington
and to the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii:

The Historical Commission presents herewith a report of its work during the two years ending December 31, 1924. In addition to the report proper, there are two documentary appendixes: one containing extracts from the correspondence of David L. Gregg, United States Commissioner to Hawaii from 1853 to 1858; and one containing documents obtained by the Commission from the archives of the British Government, illustrating the policy of that government toward the Hawaiian Islands from 1824 to 1854.

Respectfully submitted,

THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION,
GEORGE R. CARTER, President,
MRS. A. P. TAYLOR, Vice-President,
K. C. LEEBRICK, Secretary-Treasurer.

REPORT *of the* HISTORICAL COMMISSION

For the Two Years Ending
December 31, 1924

Legislation

While the Legislature was in session in 1923, the work of the Historical Commission was thoroughly discussed at meetings of two legislative committees, one of the Senate and one of the House of Representatives. At these meetings certain conclusions were reached, subsequently embodied in a law amending what may be called the organic act of this Commission (Act 120, S. L. 1921). The object of these amendments was in part to remove certain doubts as to the exact meaning of the original law, and in part to modify and enlarge the duties of the Commission. The amending act reads as follows:

Act 139, S. L. 1923.

Section 1. Section 1 of Act 120 of the Session Laws of 1921 is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Section 1. Number, appointment of commissioners. There is hereby created a commission of three members to be appointed by the governor of the territory, which shall be called 'The Historical Commission,' to secure the compilation and publication of a revised history of the Hawaiian people and a school text book of Hawaiian history, and to perform such other duties as are hereinafter set forth; provided, however, that said revised history and school text book shall not be published until after the same have been approved by either the legislature of the territory or by the trustees of the Hawaiian Historical Society. One member of said commission shall be appointed from the faculty of the University of Hawaii. Such members shall serve without pay, but receive such reasonable traveling and other expenses as may be incurred in the discharge of their duties as members of this commission. Such commission is hereby authorized and directed to secure the compilation from all available sources, and to publish a revised history of the Hawaiian people and a school text book of Hawaiian history. The commission is hereby authorized to employ such competent persons as are necessary for the compilation of the said volumes, and to purchase the necessary documents, records and material for use in the compilation of such volumes. The commission is authorized to make

contracts on a royalty basis with publishing firms for the publication of the said revised history and school text book."

Section 2. Section 2 of Act 120 of the Session Laws of 1921 is hereby amended to read as follows:

"**Section 2.** Said commission shall investigate and compile information upon places, structures, monuments and things in the Territory of Hawaii of historical importance and interest, and shall serve as a central advisory body in matters relating to the preservation, marking and restoration of such places and objects of historical importance and interest. The commission is hereby authorized to advise and cooperate with local organizations in the work of preserving, marking and restoring such places and objects, to take independent action where local organizations do not exist, and to make recommendations to the governor and to the legislature in reference to such matters."

Section 3. Section 3 of Act 120 of the Session Laws of 1921 is hereby amended to read as follows:

"**Section 3.** It shall be the duty of said commission to secure and collect the necessary information, documents and pictures relating to Hawaii's part in the great war between the United States and its allies and the central European powers and to compile and publish a history of Hawaii's part in said war."

Section 4. This Act shall take effect upon its approval.

It will therefore be seen that the Commission has been given the duty of preparing and publishing three historical works:

- (1) A school textbook of Hawaiian history;
- (2) A revised history for general reading and reference;
- (3) A history of Hawaii's part in the Great War of 1914-1918.

This represents a much more extensive program than was indicated in the Act of 1921, and has therefore necessitated some modification of the plans and calculations stated in the Report of the Historical Commission presented to the Governor and the Legislature in January and February, 1923.

Organization—Meetings

The organization of the Commission has continued without change as it was in December, 1923. During the two years 1924-25 nine meetings have been held, or an average of more than one each quarter.

School History

Before the meeting of the Legislature in 1923 the Commission had begun the preparation of a school textbook of Hawaiian history. In view of the changes made in the law, the question

arose as to whether it would be better to write the general history first and let it be the basis for a school textbook to be subsequently compiled. After a full and careful consideration of all factors involved, it was decided to proceed with the work already begun, but to carry it on in such a way as to involve as little duplication of labor as possible.

The writing of the school textbook has required more time than was originally anticipated. At first glance the history of these islands seems relatively simple; in reality it is very complex, and bristles with controversial questions. In order to insure accuracy and impartiality, a great amount of research and careful study has been necessary. So far as possible controversial questions have been avoided, but it is not possible to leave out all such questions, even in a school book. In writing, the aim has been to show how the Hawaiian Islands came to be what they are today—an American commonwealth, with a distinct type of economic and social life. To quote from our first report, each chapter has been “made to center about some person, some event, or some clearly defined line of development, other things being made subordinate to the central idea, in order that the attention of the reader may be fixed upon the outstanding characters, the decisive events, and the controlling movements in our history.”

During the summer of 1924, Dr. H. E. Gregory, Director of the Bishop Museum, completed the writing of the introductory chapters which he had agreed to prepare. These very interesting chapters have a total of about fifty pages, and deal with the Hawaiian people before the discovery by Captain Cook. An idea of their scope may be gained from the chapter headings, which are (1) The Pacific and Its Islands; (2) The Pacific Pioneers; (3) Some Polynesian Customs and Beliefs.

At the time this Report is written, the Executive Secretary of the Commission, R. S. Kuykendall, has completed twenty chapters, carrying the story from the discovery by Captain Cook to about the end of the reign of King Kalakaua. It is expected that the entire manuscript will be completed before the end of the legislative session of 1925.

In our first Report it was stated that steps had been taken toward the making of a contract for the publication of the school textbook. This was one of the subjects discussed at the meetings of the legislative committees in 1923. The investigations and negotiations were brought to a conclusion by the making of a contract with the Macmillan Company, one of the largest textbook

publishing houses in the United States. In this contract, the Company agrees to publish and distribute the book at its own expense and to pay to the Territorial Treasury a royalty of eight per cent of the cash received by it from sales of the book. It further agrees to sell the book at a price which gives it a profit of not over ten per cent. It is stipulated that the book shall not be published until it has been adopted by the school department of the Territory as a textbook. Before execution, this contract was submitted to the Attorney General's department for approval of its legal phases.

Revised General History

At a meeting of the Commission, May 25, 1923, the following resolution was adopted:

"That it is the judgment of the Commission that in order to meet the requirements of the law and the expectations of the public a general narrative history of approximately one thousand pages, to be printed in two volumes, sufficiently documented to insure authoritativeness, should be prepared."

It was further resolved that Dr. Gregory should be asked to write the introductory part of this history, corresponding to that which he has written for the school textbook.

It was also decided that, while the school textbook was being written, steps should be taken to locate and to obtain, if possible, copies of documents and publications relating to Hawaiian history, which are not to be found in our local collections, but which will be needed in order to make possible the preparation of a complete and authoritative history of the islands. While our local collections contain an immense amount of original source material, it is known that there are in existence great quantities of documents of primary importance scattered in various parts of the world. There are at least three classes of material which should be investigated:

- (1) Documents in private hands in the Hawaiian Islands;
- (2) Documents in private collections outside of the Hawaiian Islands;
- (3) Documents in official archives and public libraries outside the Hawaiian Islands.

It is the proper function of the Archives of Hawaii, the Historical Society, and similar agencies, to find, preserve, and make

available the first class of material above mentioned. The Historical Commission believes itself in duty bound to obtain the desired material from the second and third sources. Our first Report listed a number of important documents obtained during the year 1923. We are now able to add largely to that list and to indicate further plans along this line.

The Gregg Collection

During the summer of 1923, the Commission obtained, in the form of a loan from Mr. David L. Gregg of Glendale, California, the use of the diaries and letter books of his father, covering more or less completely the period from 1854 to 1865. The senior Gregg was the United States Commissioner in Hawaii from 1853 to 1858, and Minister of Finance of the Hawaiian Kingdom from 1858 to 1862. The Commission learned of the existence of this important collection through an article published in one of the Honolulu newspapers. Mr. Kuykendall at once wrote to Mr. Gregg, telling him of the work of the Historical Commission and asking him frankly if it would be possible for us to have the use of his father's papers for historical purposes. Dr. K. C. Leebrick, who was on the Coast at the time, made a trip to Glendale, where he had a personal interview with Mr. Gregg and his family. The collection was freely placed at the disposal of the Commission and sent to Honolulu for our use. It is loaned to us for historical purposes, and the Commission guarantees to the family of Mr. Gregg that no improper use will be made of it. On its arrival here, the collection was placed for safe keeping in the Territorial Archives, where it will be kept intact beyond any danger of loss from fire or otherwise, until such time as Mr. Gregg asks for its return.

The collection includes ten volumes of the diary of Commissioner and Minister Gregg and fifteen letter books containing both official and private correspondence. Neither series is quite complete, but for many happenings the collection contains three distinct accounts: one in the diary, one in the official correspondence, and one in the private letters. The three accounts therefore mutually check and supplement each other. The material contained in this collection illustrates vividly the way in which a candid observer's views are modified and enlarged on fuller acquaintance. The Commission has already found the collection of great value, and its value will be even more apparent

Research is attended with greater difficulties in the French archives than in the archives of Great Britain. Detailed instructions, somewhat different in character from those given to Miss Fisher, were prepared and sent to Mr. Doysié in the early part of October, 1924. He consented to undertake the investigation and immediately began the preliminary work of interviewing officials and examining indexes. A brief report was received from Mr. Doysié in December, but some time may elapse before he is able to send the documents requested. We confidently expect to receive from Paris material of great importance in connection with the question of French policy toward these islands.

Some additional documents have been obtained from the Mexican archives in relation to Spanish activity and interest in the Hawaiian Islands during the fur trade era. The most interesting of these is a diary of a visit to these islands by a Spanish naval officer in the spring of 1791. This officer, Ensign Manuel Quimper, was in command of the English ship *Princess Royal*, which he was navigating to Canton to be delivered to her English owners. While at Kailua, Hawaii, Quimper had an encounter, which almost reached the point of battle, with the Englishman, Captain James Colnett. The details of this meeting are most interesting. The diary is of particular significance because the literature of the year 1791 is otherwise not very extensive.

Hawaiian Documents In Bancroft Library

During the past summer the Commission's Executive Secretary made a search for Hawaiian documents in the Bancroft Library at the University of California. This library contains the vast collection of historical material gathered together by Hubert Howe Bancroft when he was compiling his monumental history of the Pacific Coast of North America. Because of the close connection between Hawaii and California from early times, it was inevitable that such a collection would contain many items of historical value to these islands.

In connection with his vacation, which was spent in California, Mr. Kuykendall was authorized to devote two or three weeks to research in the Bancroft Library. In this work he examined in detail sixteen large volumes containing original documents formerly belonging to Gen. Mariano G. Vallejo, Thomas O. Larkin, and Capt. Henry D. Fitch, and listed about four hundred original letters and other documents having a direct

bearing on the history of Hawaii between 1820 and 1850. Most of these are letters written at Honolulu by local business men to their California agents and correspondents. The bulk of them deal with trade, but many other phases of our history are also touched upon.

Among the writers of these letters were John C. Jones, who was the first American consular representative in Hawaii and later a merchant in California; Stephen Reynolds, one of the most interesting early traders in Honolulu; James Hunnewell, Henry A. Peirce, Charles Brewer, John, Henry, and William Paty, Francis Johnson, and Stephen H. Williams. There are letters written by Revs. Patrick Short and Robert A. Walsh, Catholic missionaries, whose expulsion from Hawaii caused so much trouble to the king and chiefs. A number of documents were found giving details of the life of Robert Crichton Wyllie before he came to these islands.

In the year 1840 Thomas O. Larkin, an American merchant of Monterey, California (at that time a province of Mexico), sent his oldest child, a lad of seven years, to Honolulu to be educated in the Oahu Charity School, under the direction of Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Johnstone. About the same time, six other boys, sons of California residents named Spence, Watson, Kinloch, Wilson, and Fitch, were sent to Honolulu for the same purpose. Sometime prior to this, a Spanish Californian youth named Romualdo Pacheco had become a student in this school, where he remained until 1843. This boy later became the treasurer and governor of California and a member of the United States Congress.

Among the Larkin documents in the Bancroft Library are a number of letters written by the California parents to their sons in Honolulu, and others written by Mr. and Mrs. Johnstone and the boys to their parents. In one letter Mr. Larkin writes to Mr. Johnstone, "Your taking charge of the children going from this country will be a great benefit to them and you will confer a great favour on the parents as they cannot be educated here." One letter by Mrs. Johnstone is especially interesting, as it recounts in detail just what the boys had to eat.

Documents from Archives of the United States

It is probable that the archives of the United States government and the Library of Congress contain more material of value

for our purpose than any other collections in existence. In our Report two years ago we listed something over three hundred pages of documents obtained from United States government archives. During the past two years, for well considered reasons, this beginning was not followed up, but the Commission has included in its proposed budget for the next two years provision for a thorough search in Washington and other places on the mainland, where Hawaiian material is likely to be found.

*Translation of Historical Writings
of S. M. Kamakau*

At one of the early meetings of the Commission the Executive Secretary called attention to the fact that the valuable historical writings of S. M. Kamakau were for the most part buried in the files of the native newspapers, the *Kuokoa* and the *Au Okoa*, and he recommended that this material should be copied and translated, so that it might be in form to be readily used not only by this Commission but also by others who may wish to consult it. This recommendation was subsequently approved, and the work of translation entrusted to Mr. John H. Wise. The work was carried on during the year 1923 and the early part of 1924. The result is that 78 chapters of the history of Kamakau have been translated into English. The chapters translated deal with the life and reign of Kamehameha I and the continuation of the history of the Kamehameha dynasty to about the year 1839. Considerable use has been made of this translation by the Commission and by others interested in Hawaiian history.

War History

Work preliminary to the compilation of a history of Hawaii's part in the Great War has been pursued along several lines. It was not found practical to employ a special war historian during the last two years, and the work has been done by the existing staff, i. e., the Executive Secretary and his assistant.

In our last Report attention was called to the data obtained regarding war history work in other states. Since that time much additional information of this character has been received. Included in this mass of material are several outlines of war histories prepared for use in various states, showing how the facts have been, or are to be organized in the writing of proposed

volumes. The Commission has also obtained copies of a number of war histories already published.

The work of compiling the records of men in service from Hawaii has been continued. More than ten thousand basic record cards have been typed. These are deposited in the Archives and will be used in recording additional facts obtained from all available sources.

The files of the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* have been searched for the entire period between the outbreak of the war in July, 1914, and the end of 1918, and reference slips written for all articles dealing with local war activities. This work is to be extended to the files of the *Advertiser* and other newspapers published in the territory. Examination of newspaper files is very tedious work, but it is absolutely necessary in the preparation of a history of this kind.

Historical Landmarks

At the beginning of 1923 the Historical Commission sent out to all parts of the territory copies of a questionnaire designed to elicit information about places and objects of historical interest. A considerable number of replies were received, containing valuable suggestions and recommendations. But the response was not all that had been hoped for. It was evident that an intensive publicity campaign would be necessary if any widespread interest in the subject was to be aroused and maintained.

We desire to call attention to the following quotations from the first Report of the Historical Commission:

"The members of the Commission are of the opinion, and so recommend: That the work of marking, preserving, and, to a limited extent, of restoring places and objects of historical interest and importance should be carried on continuously and systematically."

"The members of the Commission are, however, of the opinion that any action looking toward the marking, preservation, and restoration of historical places and objects will be much more effective if it is taken upon the initiative and with the support of the local communities directly concerned. We believe that local organizations on the different islands should serve as clearing houses for information about historical landmarks within the districts which they represent, and that these

local organizations should, so far as possible, carry on the work of marking, preservation, and restoration; but that there should be a central advisory body with authority to cooperate with local organizations and individuals, to act independently where local organizations do not exist, and to make recommendations to the Governor and to the Legislature." The last part of this quotation was, in 1923, substantially embodied in the law governing the Historical Commission.

As pointed out in that Report, local organizations, notably the Daughters of Hawaii and the Kauai Historical Society, have done much valuable work along this line. Recently, the Honolulu Ad Club has taken the lead in an aggressive and widespread campaign designed to arouse public opinion and bring out all obtainable information in reference to historical landmarks. By the plan of organization of this campaign, all data received is to be turned over to the Historical Commission as a central and official repository.

At the time our last Report was published, the Commission was endeavoring, in cooperation with the Kauai Historical Society, to have the old Russian fort at Waimea transformed into a public park and historical monument. But conditions at that time were not such as to make possible the successful accomplishment of this object.

In May, 1923, the Commission presented to Governor Farrington the following recommendations:

(1) That the site of the deserted village of Kaupo, on the windward side of Oahu, between Waimanalo and Makapuu Point, be reserved as a public park with a view to the preservation of the ruins now existing there.

(2) That the land of Waiakekua at the head of Manoa Valley, Honolulu, be reserved for use as a public picnic ground, this having been a picnic ground of the Hawaiian chiefs.

(3) That the land on which stands the Ahua-a-Umi, on the Island of Hawaii, on the plateau between Mauna Loa and Hualalai, be obtained, if possible, by exchange and set aside as a public park.

These recommendations received the prompt attention of the Governor, with the following results:

(1) The recommendation in reference to the old village of Kaupo was approved, and the matter referred to the Territorial Survey Department in order that the necessary surveys

might be made preliminary to an executive order setting aside the land as a public park. On February 8, 1924, the Executive Secretary of the Historical Commission, at the request of the Territorial Survey Department, pointed out to the surveyors the boundaries desired for the park. The survey has subsequently been completed.

(2) It developed that the recommendation in reference to the land of Waiakekua in Manoa Valley could not be carried out, due to conflict with the territorial forest and water conservation program.

(3) The Ahua-a-Umi being on private land, the proposal regarding it was taken up by correspondence between the Governor and the owners of the land. The owners, due to the relative inaccessibility of the place and to other circumstances, expressed an unwillingness to have its status disturbed at the present time. They gave assurance that this ancient ruin is not now suffering any preventable damage.

Finances

The following is a condensed summary of the financial reports and budget estimates submitted to the Governor in November, 1924.

Statement for the Biennium 1923-1925

A. Funds available for the biennium			\$21,633.36
1. Unexpended balance of permanent appropriation			\$ 9,633.36
2. Current biennial appropriation....			12,000.00
B. Expenditures			\$11,307.17
	Actual	Estimated	
	1923-4	1924-5	
1. Salaries	\$4,215.00	\$4,620.00	
2. Other personal services..	984.60	155.00	
3. Supplies	79.50	75.00	
4. Printing and binding..		500.00	
5. Documents and books....	54.05	300.00	
6. Travel expenses	63.95	250.00	
7. Miscellaneous	10.07		
C. Estimated savings			\$10,326.19

The estimated savings include the sum of \$10,000 originally intended to be used, if needed, in publishing the school textbook of Hawaiian history; if not needed for that purpose, to be applied on cost of printing the war history, if ready for publication during the present biennium. Not being used for either of these objects, the amount remains unused and lapses at the end of the biennium.

Requested for Biennium 1925-1927

1. For salaries	\$ 9,240.00
2. For supplies	100.00
3. For travel expenses	1,250.00
4. For printing and binding	10,500.00
5. For documents and books	1,000.00
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Total	\$22,090.00

The amount requested for printing and binding includes the estimated cost of printing the war history, \$10,000.

APPENDIX A

An American Diplomat In Hawaii

[Introductory Note.—The following extracts are taken from the correspondence of David L. Gregg, who arrived in Honolulu December 19, 1853, and lived there for about ten years, first as the diplomatic representative of the United States, next as the Hawaiian Minister of Finance, and finally, for a short time, as a practicing attorney. No comment seems necessary in connection with these extracts. The letters are presented in chronological order, but it will be seen that they fall naturally into three groups: (1) Letters to personal friends, giving his impressions of the country and people; (2) Official dispatches to the Secretary of State of the United States, touching the relations between the two nations and some other matters which he thought would be of interest to his government; (3) Two letters throwing light on the relations between Mr. Gregg and Mr. Wyllie. This classification is not rigidly exact. The letters in the first group are taken from letter-press copies of the originals, those in the second group are taken from drafts in the handwriting of Mr. Gregg. The letter of Mr. Wyllie is taken from the original in his almost illegible handwriting.]

1. *David L. Gregg to John Moore, Dated Honolulu,
January 21, 1854.*

A few days since, I attended the Supreme Court in this city where cases between natives were on trial. The proceedings were all conducted in the Hawaiian language, and a degree of good order & propriety prevailed which both gratified and surprised me. The lawyers, witnesses, jurors, and one of the Judges on the bench, were Hawaiians. After the evidence was closed, speeches were regularly made as in our courts, and in *manner*, at least, I should call them fine specimens of forensic eloquence. One of the officers of the Court interpreted the proceedings for me as they progressed, thus enabling me to conclude that shrewdness as well as eloquence was a characteristic of the native Hawaiian bar. The appearance of jurors and spectators was just such as might be expected in our Courts at home, and they exhibited even a higher degree of decorum than I have sometimes seen in American Courts.

2. *David L. Gregg to R. S. Blackwell (Private),
Dated Honolulu, Feb. 1, 1854*

You are aware that the government of these Islands is a monarchy, although many of the institutions of the country are copied from our own, and partake of a republican character.

The King—Kamehameha III—is a very clever sort of personage, about 40 years of age, good looking, shrewd, and far more intelligent about political affairs than might be expected from one just emerged from a savage state. He would, by no means, disgrace the society of his brother monarchs in Europe, and I am very much disposed to think that in point of natural capacity, he is superior to them all except Nicholas & Louis Napoleon.

3. *David L. Gregg to Robert Irwin (Private),
Dated Honolulu, February 1, 1854*

We find society here, far more agreeable & extensive, than we anticipated. There is no lack of enjoyment on that score. But few towns in the United States of the same size, can present a larger circle of refined & intelligent people. There is something of a New England tone, but perhaps that is no objection. Dancing is a common amusement at evening parties, when the "Missionary people" have taken their departure. Nearly every house, from that of the King down to the poorest foreign resident, is furnished with a piano, and society seems almost music-mad.

4. *David L. Gregg to Wm. W. Peck (Private)
Dated Honolulu, February 3, 1854.*

The fashions in vogue among the rougher sex, are much the same as in the United States. But the females, have never been able to bring themselves up to the point of wearing the close fitting "habits" of their white sisters. Their outside garments are made somewhat in the style of an American lady's night gown, except that the *yoke* is wider, and the *skirt* gathered more fully upon it. If this description is unintelligible, ask some of your lady friends, and they will doubtless explain it to your satisfaction. Satin is the favorite material for dresses, and being cheap, it is worn by every respectable "wa-hi-ne" (woman). A wreath of flowers is the favorite head dress, but in the Presbyterian Churches, they are compelled to wear bonnets, out of regard, it is to be presumed, to St. Paul's injunction requiring women to be covered in the House of the Lord. The fashions of a quarter of a century since at home, are now the rage here. They are expert riders on horseback, and sitting astride with their unique riding dress, consisting of a scarf two yards in width & three or four yards long, wound around the lower part of the

person & held in each stirrup, by the foot, with the ends floating as streamers in the wind, present a graceful appearance.

The principal articles of food are "poi," and fish. The former is made from the root of the Kalo plant, roasted in the ground, pounded fine, and mixed with water, to the consistence of thin paste. Sometimes it is eaten in a sweet state, but it is ordinarily set aside until fermentation takes place. The fingers are used in conveying it to the mouth, & when thin, it is called "three-fingered poi"; when thick "two-fingered."

Several kinds of fish are eaten raw, and even some of the foreign residents pronounce them good in this condition.

Roasted dogs are considered essential to every well ordered feast. A few days since, I was beguiled into a hearty meal from a canine quadruped, by the representation that it was a young porker. The natives are fond of playing such tricks upon strangers.

5. *David L. Gregg to Thos. L. Harris, (Private),
Dated Honolulu, February 3, 1854.*

The existing government, though a monarchy, has many republican features. Setting aside the feature of royalty, there is as much liberality, & recognition of popular rights in the Hawaiian Constitution, as in most of the state constitutions of the American Union. In the event of annexation, which I regard as certain, at no distant day, the transition will be easy & natural. The only necessary change will be in executive officers;—all beyond would move on in the same course as heretofore. . . .

King Ka-me-ha-me-ha III is still anxious to alienate his Sovereignty to the United States, & is ready at any moment to open negotiations for that purpose. The only obstacle existing is the ambition of Prince Alexander Liholiho, the heir apparent, who is anxious to know how a crown feels on his head. I believe you have seen this young Prince as well as Prince Lot Kamehameha. They were both, I think, at Washington when you were a member of Congress. There are but few superiors to them, among young men of their age, in any country. They are well educated & intelligent, & in point of easy & graceful manners & elegant address, equal to the most accomplished frequenters of the best circles.

The King is tired of playing the Monarch & would gladly give up his royal authority. Not long since, he remarked to a gentle-

man with whom he was conversing, that he would rather command a fine clipper ship than reign over all the Islands in the Pacific. . . .

6. *David L. Gregg to Daniel McIlroy, (Private),
Dated Honolulu, February 3, 1854.*

There are but few young men any where, superior to Prince Alexander. Though only twenty years of age, he is well educated & intelligent, and would acquit himself creditably in the best circles of society. A few years ago he travelled in England, France and the United States, & improved his opportunities of observation to the best advantage. You need not be astonished to hear of him, some day, in Washington, as a member of the House of Representatives, or perhaps the Senate! If his complexion is of an olive cast, the first gentlemen of our country, would have no occasion to be ashamed of his society.

7. *David L. Gregg to E. W. Tracy, (Private),
Dated Honolulu, February 3, 1854.*

The American Missionaries deserve the highest credit for their untiring perseverance in the work of elevating and reforming the savages of the Hawaiian Islands. It was their effort which laid the foundation of the order and peace which now prevail. They established a polity almost republican in its character, and differing but in few particulars from our own institutions.

Naturally, the advisers of the King and Chiefs, they counselled judicious reforms, & did much to lessen & finally abolish the absolute dominion which trod the unfortunate masses under foot. If they sometimes committed errors, it was because they lacked knowledge in political science, and gave too little heed to considerations of worldly policy. Thus it was, that morals were sometimes enforced by severe royal and legislative enactment, and, thus it now is, that trade is fettered by restrictions, which in the general estimation, are regarded as injudicious, and unwise.

While I see some things to be censured, I find much to praise, and I trust that no consideration will ever prevent me from giving credit where it is justly due.

8. *David L. Gregg to John Forsythe,*
Dated Honolulu, March 20, 1854

Friday last, the 17th, was the King's birthday, and it was celebrated with a great effort at display. His Majesty was then 40 years old. In the morning at 11 o'clock the Diplomatic & Consular bodies were received at the Palace. The British Commissioner & Consul General, being the oldest official of that rank, addressed the King in behalf of the diplomatic corps, congratulating him on the occasion & wishing him many happy returns of the same anniversary. Immediately after was a review of the Royal Troops, which was really a fine affair. I attended, by invitation of the Prince Royal, the highest military officer of the Kingdom.

The native population were out during the entire day, in their best holiday garb. The females on such occasions, always make a fine display. They ride on horseback, astride, and wear a dress which is really picturesque & beautiful. It is far more safe, appropriate, & graceful in my estimation, than the riding habits *or mode* of European & American ladies.

In the evening a levee was held at the Palace. It was attended by an immense crowd of people,—natives & foreigners,—and passed off to the entire satisfaction of everybody. No occasion of the kind could have passed off more creditably in any country. The King attended Mrs. G. to the supper table, & I had the honor to perform the same service to Her Majesty the Queen. After supper was over, & the graver portion of the company had taken leave, a dance was got up, which was participated in by people of the Hawaiian & Anglo-Saxon races upon terms of perfect equality and good fellowship.

The King as I have already said, is 40 years of age. He is of good size, & fair proportions,—of a dark olive complexion & fine appearance & bearing. He speaks English tolerably well, but on official occasions employs an interpreter. In shrewdness & intelligence, even on general subjects, he is not behind many of those who have had the advantages of early education, & a wide field of literature.

The Queen would be pronounced a fine looking woman anywhere. Her complexion is a light olive—her form good, her manners agreeable, & her bearing just such as might be expected from any accomplished lady. She speaks but little English, but

I have picked up a little Hawaiian, and found no great difficulty in conversing with her.

The Princess Victoria, who is only in her 16th year, is quite as well educated and accomplished, as most young ladies of her age in the United States.

Prince Alexander, the heir to the throne, is in his 21st year. But few young men anywhere, are his equals, either in point of education or general intelligence. I have rarely met any one who speaks the English language with more purity and general correctness.

9. *David L. Gregg to John Higgins,*
Dated Honolulu, April 15, 1854.

The Legislature of the Kingdom is now in session here, and I do not see that things are conducted much worse than in our own country. In fact every proceeding is entirely after the American fashion. The House of Representatives is orderly and dignified, but the members, like our own dignitaries of the same character, are much given to making speeches. In fact, their education is pretty much American, and it is not strange to find them possessing some American characteristics.

10. *David L. Gregg to D. U. Gregg,*
Dated Honolulu, April 16, 1854.

Beyond all doubt, these Islands, in point of many natural advantages, are the very garden of the world. There is no country with such an unvarying and delightful temperature; no spot on earth more adapted to comfort and enjoyment. The vestiges of savage life are fast passing away. Indeed, it may be said that they do not exist except as memorials of the past. The native Hawaiians, especially those of the rising generation, present an appearance, in their outward mode of life, very much like what you see at home. In my last letter, I spoke of soil, productions &c., and I believe I also touched upon the manners, habits and customs of the Hawaiian people. Some of the *habits* of ancient times remain, but it may, perhaps, be said, that they are just as defensible as many of the habits of European and American society. I will only mention one or two, which you will, without doubt, set down as essentially barbarous. The first is the practice of eating certain kinds of fish in a raw state! On one occasion, when invited to a feast, I tasted some

shrimps in this condition, and I found them really palatable, and good. After all, it is a mere matter of taste, and not of civilization, whether our food is cooked or raw. Roasted dogs are another favorite dish of the Hawaiians, and if you ask them why they eat it, they will at once answer, why do you eat pigs, or mutton? Is there any sound reason why one should be regarded as better than the other? Why do you eat these in preference to nice fat dogs?

Many of the Hawaiians are fine orators, and in this respect they would do credit to the bar or the pulpit of any country. I have heard some of them in Court, addressing juries, and in the Legislature, and really, found them not at all behind the ordinary run of our speakers at home.

11. *David L. Gregg to W. L. Marcy (No. 76),
Dated Honolulu, March 12, 1855.*

On the 5th inst. the Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Relations addressed me a dispatch calling my attention to the action of His Government in March, 1852, "offering to admit the flour, fish, coal, lumber, staves and heading of the United States free of duty, provided they will admit in return, the sugar, syrup of sugar, molasses and coffee produced on these Islands." A copy of his dispatch is transmitted, together with my reply to the same. Being altogether unadvised of the views of the President on the subject, I could only signify my disposition to seek for information without delay. . . .

From the means of information within my reach, I am inclined to entertain the opinion that a judicious system of reciprocity would be mutually advantageous. It would doubtless be highly beneficial to the interests of trade in our ports on the Pacific Coast, which must always afford the principal markets for Hawaiian productions, and here also many of their staple articles will constantly be in demand. Even now, an extensive trade is springing up with Oregon and California, and it would be greatly increased by a mutual exemption of the principal articles of import, from custom house duties.

I am satisfied that such a reciprocity could not, to any extent, affect the interests of the sugar planters of Louisiana, & Texas as even at the present time the sugar trade at San Francisco is said to be chiefly with Manilla, China, the East Indies

and these Islands, and this state of things will probably continue to exist.

But aside from commercial considerations, there are strong political reasons which induce the Hawaiian Government to seek such a reciprocity as will remove the duties on Island sugar & molasses in our ports. Under the operation of the existing American tariff, it is but natural that nearly the entire body of Hawaiian planters, should be inclined to favor such a change of Government as would be likely to relieve them from the depressing effect of imposts upon their productions in the only markets to which from the nature of circumstances, they must always look for their best customers. Hence arises a strong and influential party in favor of annexation to the United States. But this is chiefly a party of foreigners,—to a large extent American foreigners,—orderly & peaceable it will be admitted,—but still impelled to favor a new political order by the numerous advantages they may reasonably hope to derive from it.

It is the view of the present Hawaiian administration that the welfare of the native population would be best subserved by a continuance of separate nationality, and therefore they desire to enter into such arrangements abroad as will remove the causes of discontent at home, by all the just and reasonable encouragement of enterprise which is practicable.

I cannot doubt that this view is sensible and correct. No reasonable man, who has resided here for any length of time, will be inclined to deny that the Hawaiians would at least for the present be better off under the dominion of intelligent men of their own race, like the late & present King, than under the rule of a foreign people, no matter how much soever civilized, by whom, from the natural conflict of races, they would speedily be absorbed, or rather driven to annihilation. . . .

If the separate independence of the Hawaiian Islands could be maintained, under an enlightened wise and impartial government, American interests would perhaps be as well, or better promoted than by extending over them the jurisdiction of our flag. There are no especial reasons of policy why we should be anxious for "annexation," except to prevent a preponderating English or French influence,—which ought never to be permitted,—or as a matter of friendly interest to a people whose institutions are to a great extent derived from our own, in case they shall ever become convinced that necessity requires them to take shelter under the wings of a protecting power. We want no

unwilling or reluctant citizens, none who will not see & feel in our institutions the highest advantages of free & enlightened Government.

But I cannot help being incredulous as to the ability of the Hawaiians to maintain their separate nationality for any great length of time. A decaying population,—resources altogether inadequate to the public improvements demanded by the necessities of business, & the progress of the age,—the perfect stand-still of all that ought to be in onward motion,—everything indicates the ultimate necessity of external support, or else the utter subversion of security, order & prosperity. Such a state of things we cannot seek to promote;—on the contrary true policy dictates that we should sustain the efforts to maintain Hawaiian nationality so long as such support is sought in friendship & good faith, and can be rendered without prejudice to our own interests. If the Hawaiian Government must eventually fall, then we can, if our good offices are desired, extend our arms with a friendly welcome to the advantages which the flag of our country more than all others affords to those worthy of its protection.

12. *David L. Gregg to W. L. Marcy (79),*
Dated Honolulu, March 17, 1855.

You will not consider it improper for me to add a few words to what I have already said in regard to the character of Judge Lee. His position here is peculiar, but not less honorable to him than creditable to those by whose confidence he is sustained. He was on every occasion of importance the adviser of the late King, and maintains the same position with the new Sovereign. All classes of people in the Kingdom respect him & rely upon his judgment as affording almost a conclusive presumption of right. I know of no man any where who enjoys so large a measure of respect, or who has so few enemies. His characteristic reputation is that of an honest man and I am satisfied that he most fully deserves it. He is by birth an American and I think, a native of New York. In taking up his residence here, he was influenced by considerations of health. When he consented to hold a public position under a foreign government, it appears to have been with a firm determination to devote all his energies to the promotion of its interests, and in doing so he is persevering and consistent. But this has not interfered with the preservation of a proper respect & veneration for the institutions under which he was educated.

13. *David L. Gregg to W. L. Marcy (101),*
Dated Honolulu, June 14, 1855.

The Chief A. *Paki* died yesterday at his residence in this city. He was the last of the old Chiefs of high rank, who had arrived at manhood before the introduction of Christianity. But few persons residing here enjoyed more general confidence & respect. Though brought up in savage times, and without that peculiar refinement which can only be acquired by the long-continued & patient lessons of early life, he was a fine specimen of the real gentleman—always courteous, affable & dignified;—always just and honorable in his dealings; always correct in manners & morals. His descent was from the ancient Hawaiian Kings and entitled him at least to an equal rank in point of “noble blood” with the family which occupies the throne. His house one of the finest in this city was planned, built and furnished by him in a style in perfect accordance with the tastes of civilization, and he took pleasure in receiving the visits of persons of respectable standing, on all occasions entertaining them with hospitality & kindness.

He has left one child of his blood—a daughter, the wife of Mr. C. R. Bishop, an American,—who will be the inheritor of his rank, & the principal heiress of his fortune. She is in all respects an accomplished lady, and would do credit to any American or European society to which she might be admitted. Here, she is universally welcomed, and is qualified to stand, as she does, among the first in social position.

Besides this daughter, there is another by adoption who has received a good education & occupies a highly respectable position in society.

These instances illustrate the results of Missionary teaching & *American* influence and of themselves, are sufficient to disprove the wholesale allegations of such persons as take it upon themselves to represent that the efforts of our countrymen to carry the lights of civilization to savage lands, have been without avail.

14. *David L. Gregg to W. L. Marcy (148),*
Dated Honolulu, March 2, 1856.

The Raduga also arrived on the 21st bringing Judge Lee, Mrs. Lee, & several old residents of the Islands. Judge Lee's health is not thought to be materially improved. He is still somewhat feeble, but in the even temperature of this climate,

his life may be preserved for years. His influence in political affairs is, if possible greater than before his departure to the United States. I have good reason to know that the King confides in him far more than in any one else. In his absence sly & insidious efforts were made to subvert his standing & supersede him in the affections of the native rulers, but these efforts are recoiling upon their authors.

15. *David L. Gregg to W. L. Marcy (156),
Dated Honolulu, March 19, 1856.*

The present inclination of the Hawaiian mind is to look upon the United States as the stronghold of hope for the future of the Islands. . . .

The British & French Governments are evidently doing all in their power to convince the Hawaiians that they are their best and most disinterested friends, & that in them alone can any well founded reliance be placed. It is our policy to prevent any such idea from obtaining credit.

16. *David L. Gregg to W. L. Marcy (Private),
Dated Honolulu, June 5, 1856.*

There is an issue springing up between the Cabinet & Judge Lee. Mr. Wyllie spares no pains to create prejudice against the Judge whenever the opportunity occurs. Judge Lee knows it, and is on his guard. Allen sides with Wyllie & participates in his jealousy. The American Missionaries have been badly treated by the Cabinet & by the King acting under its influence. His Majesty is conscious of the error, & has to my knowledge, expressed regret for it. This will eventually have some bearing in deciding the contest for influence between Judge Lee & Mr. Wyllie.

17. *David L. Gregg to W. L. Marcy (No. 181),
Dated Honolulu, Sept. 20, 1856.*

The time must come, when the perpetuity of separate Hawaiian independence will be an obsolete idea, & its sale subject to the highest bidder among the leading commercial nations of the world.

The game is ours if we look out for it in a proper manner, but if it be exclusively petted by British & French hands, they will hold it in the end, in spite of all the encouraging words & looks we can put in requisition.

18. *David L. Gregg to W. L. Marcy (No. 207),
Dated Honolulu, March 9, 1857.*

On the 7th inst, Judge Lee returned to Honolulu, but in such a condition of health as to preclude his attention to business for the present. It is quite doubtful whether he will survive for any great length of time. The Government is exceedingly anxious on his account, as no one can be found here in all respects well qualified to take his place.

Americans are especially solicitous on the subject, as he holds the conscience of the King & is supposed to control almost every important action of the Government.

19. *David L. Gregg to Lewis Cass (No. 223),
Dated Honolulu, June 1, 1857.*

It is my duty to inform you that Hon. William L. Lee, Chancellor & Chief Justice of the Hawaiian Kingdom, died on the 28th ult. His funeral took place yesterday. . . .

Judge Lee was a man of supreme influence in the affairs of this Kingdom. He prided himself to a great extent, upon his American nationality, and could not bear the idea that any one should differ from his views of what pertained to American honor.

He was a good judge, but no statesman. As a member of the Cabinet, and of the King's Privy Council, he often took grounds that could not properly be maintained, but on the bench, his decisions commanded universal respect.

20. *David L. Gregg to Lewis Cass (No. 226),
Dated Honolulu, June 19, 1857.*

The Rev. Richard Armstrong, President of the Board of Education & late Minister of Public Instruction is about to proceed with the sanction of this Government to the United States for the purpose of soliciting from benevolent individuals, funds for the endowment of Oahu College, an institution established and formerly owned by the American Board of Foreign Missions, but now in the hands of resident Trustees. It is a most excellent seminary at present, but its means of usefulness would be greatly extended by a respectable endowment, such as Mr. Armstrong will seek to obtain. . . .

21. *David L. Gregg to Lewis Cass (No. 262),
Dated Honolulu, May 22, 1858.*

In justice to Mr. Wyllie, I must observe that there can be no doubt of his entire fidelity to the trust reposed in him by the Hawaiian Government. With his British birth, & perhaps very natural English predilections, he has pursued a course of fairness & impartiality which entitles him to high credit. On this point, any adverse opinions I may have formerly expressed, are essentially modified by observation & experience.

22. *R. C. Wyllie to Mrs. David L. Gregg,
Dated Honolulu, May 22, 1865.*

Allow me to disabuse you in regard to the supposed indifference of the Queen' to you. You must not mistake her extreme diffidence of her own talent in letter writing, and her consequent reluctance to reply to letters, for a forgetfulness of, or a cessation of interest in you or your family. She embarked in H. B. M. S. "Clio" on the 6th inst, direct for Panama & will be in London, the guest of Lady Franklin, at her Mansion Upper Gore Lodge, Kensington Gore, Kensington, London, from the 25 June to the 5th July. She will be the guest of Lady Franklin, for perhaps, about year. Queen Emma will then return, and it is my belief that Lady Franklin and Miss Cracroft will come back with Her Majesty, to spend the remainder of their lives here. The very idea of writing a letter is so distressing to Queen Emma that she scarcely ever acknowledges one of mine; and I do not expect that she will reply to one of my letters, while in London. Therefore it being important for me to know that my letters and the King's to Her Majesty are received, I shall throw the whole burden of such information upon Lady Franklin and Miss Cracroft.

As the Queen pays her own expenses out of her own small means (only \$6000 per annum) her suite is very small. If you had been in this Kingdom, I think, she would have pressed you to accompany her as Her Lady Matron, the duties of which you performed so well for 2 months in 1860, at Princeville. Queen Emma never forgot those joyful 2 months,—perhaps the happiest of her whole life.

You ask who my friend Mr. Ross is? He is David Ross Esquire, of Coquimbo, the British Consul there since 1831, mar-

¹Queen Emma, widow of King Kamehameha IV.

2. *Extract from Secret Instructions, Dated Sept. 14, 1824, Given to Lord Byron, Who Brought Back the Bodies of Kamehameha II and Queen Kamamalu in the "Blonde."*

(F. O. 58/3)

If any Disputes as to the Succession on the Death of the late King should unhappily arise, you will endeavour to maintain a strict Neutrality, and if forced to take any Part, you will espouse that which you shall find to be most consistent with the established Laws and Customs of that People.

You will endeavor to cultivate a good Understanding with the Government, in whatever native Hands it may be, and to secure, by kind Offices and friendly Intercourse, a future and lasting Protection for the Persons and Property of the Subjects of the United Kingdom.

On the Question of the Right of Great Britain to the Sandwich Islands.—

. . . their Lordships confide in your Judgement and discretion in treating unforeseen Circumstances according to the Principles of Justice and Humanity which actuate H[is] M[ajesty]'s Councils, and They recommend to You, that while You are ready to assert and vindicate H[is] M[ajesty]'s Rights, you will pay the greatest Regard to the Comfort, the Feelings, and even the Prejudices of the Natives, and will shew the utmost Moderation towards the Subjects of any other Powers, whom you may meet in those Islands.

H[is] M[ajesty]'s Rights you will, if necessary, be prepared to assert, but considering the Distance of the Place, and the Infant State of political Society there, You will avoid, as far as may be possible, the bringing these Rights into Discussion, and will propose that any disputed Point between Yourself and any Subjects of other Powers shall be referred to your respective Governments.

3. *Viscount Canning, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to Sir John Barrow, Second Secretary of the Admiralty, Oct. 4, 1842.*

(F. O. 58/3)

Considering the increasing importance to Great Britain of many of the islands in the Pacific, and especially of the Sandwich and Society Islands, both in a naval and commercial point

of view, Lord Aberdeen¹ is desirous of impressing on the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the expediency of a more frequent intercourse between Great Britain and those Islands, by the visits of ships of war, than has hitherto been maintained.

[It appears from Captain Jones' letter to Admiral Thomas that British trade in the Sandwich Islands had increased in the last three years from \$20,000 to \$150,000 annually, and] that at the time of his arrival there, two years had elapsed since a British Ship of War had visited those islands.

Lord Aberdeen is of opinion that such an increase of trade alone would fully justify the more frequent appearance of British ships of war in those parts. It would also tend to maintain the just influence of Great Britain, and to counter balance the efforts which are now making by other Powers, to establish a dominant authority in the islands of the Pacific.

Should the Lords Commissioner of the Admiralty concur in opinion with Lord Aberdeen on this point, I am directed further to suggest, that the Admiral or officer in command on the Pacific station, should be instructed to direct all commanders of Her Majesty's Ships of War who might be ordered to visit those islands, to treat their rulers with great forbearance and courtesy, and, at the same time, that those officers afford efficient protection to aggrieved British subjects, not to interfere harshly or unnecessarily with the laws and customs of the respective Governments.

The object of Her Majesty's Government in increasing their connexion with the chiefs of those islands, ought, in the opinion of Lord Aberdeen, to be rather to strengthen those authorities and to give them a sense of their own independence, by leaving the administration of justice in their own hands, than to make them feel their dependence on Foreign Powers, by interfering unnecessarily in every matter in which a foreign subject is concerned, and to compel those rulers by peremptory menace, or a show of physical force, to render to foreign subjects that measure of justice which may appear to the aggrieved person, or to the officer who steps forward in his behalf, to be his due.

This general forbearance would not, however, preclude British officers from making firm and energetic efforts to obtain redress in cases of real grievance.

¹Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

of the Sandwich Islands shall have been at that time completed by the three great Maritime Powers to whom an appeal was made to that effect by the Sovereign of that country.

6. *The Foreign Office to Henry S. Fox, British Ambassador to the United States, June 3, 1843.*

(F. O. 5/390)

I have to desire that you will lose no time in officially assuring the Government of the United States that this Act (Paulet's) was entirely unauthorized by Her Majesty's Government, and that they propose, with the least practicable delay, to call on Lord George Paulet to render an account of his conduct. . . . At the same time, however, it is right that I should state that they equally intend to engage, and if necessary, compel the Chief of the Sandwich Islands to redress whatever acts of injustice may have been committed against British subjects by that Chief, or his Ministers or Agents, either arbitrarily, or under the false colour of lawful proceedings.

7. *The Foreign Office to Sir Richard Pakenham, British Ambassador to the United States, Dec. 26, 1843.*

(F. O. 5/390)

[Sends him a copy of the joint declaration of Nov. 28, 1843, by which France and Great Britain mutually agree to recognize and respect the independence of the Hawaiian Islands.]

The proposition for making that agreement came from H[er] M[ajesty]'s Govt., and their sole object in making it, was to prevent, so far as possible, any future recurrence of those attacks, which have been more than once made, directly, or indirectly, on the independence of the Sandwich Islands, and to secure, henceforward, permanent tranquillity to those Islands, by shielding them from foreign aggression, under whatever form, or on whatever pretext it might be directed against them.

[It has been decided to ask the U. S. to become a party to this agreement.]

8. *Earl of Aberdeen, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to William Miller, British Consul General for the Hawaiian (Sandwich) Islands, Sept. 28, 1843.*¹

(F. O. 58/21)

The internal condition of the Sandwich Islands and their position with regard to Foreign Powers, and especially to Great Britain, are so peculiar that a few words of observation on my part may be required in order to enable you to form a correct judgment respecting the proposed policy of H. M. Govt. and the manner in which they would wish you to regulate your own conduct towards the Govt. of a Country so situated.

The Sandwich Islands are scarcely more than nominally governed by a Native Sovereign and native Chiefs. Citizens of the U. States are in fact the virtual Rulers and Directors of the Govt. The Constitution and the Laws are framed, and are administered chiefly by Americans; and American Missionaries in like manner direct the affairs of the Church, and keep, as it were, the consciences of the King, the Chiefs, and the native subjects.

It is obvious that the King and his native Councillors could of themselves have possessed little capacity for devising a Constitution or code of laws like those of the Sandwich Islands, and can have as little practical ability for administering them.

It must be fairly admitted that great credit is due to those American Missionaries who by their pious and unwearied labours first introduced the lights of Christianity and Civilization into those Islands; nor ought an equal share of credit to be withheld from those who, following up the advantages thus originally conferred by the Missionaries, have brought the Islanders, however imperfectly as yet, under subjection to a regular administrative system.

We have no right to entertain jealousy of the influence thus honourably acquired by the Americans amongst that people.

The changes effected by the Americans may have been somewhat over-hasty, considering the circumscribed intellectual condition of the people amongst whom they were introduced; but undoubted advantage has accrued to them from those changes.

It is certain, however, that the natives are, of themselves, incompetent to administer either their constitution or their laws.

¹Miller had just been appointed to this position. These instructions were given to him before his departure from England.

They must be, and are, practically administered by their Masters in Civilization. The judges are, in part, Natives. The Juries are generally Americans. In fact all who are really engaged in carrying the laws into effect are not natives, but foreigners, and moreover foreigners from one country. As such, they are of course liable to be swayed by the same feelings, whether of prejudices or prepossession, by which the generality of their countrymen are animated in their own country. And on the other hand the same feelings, whether for good or for evil, are naturally liable to be directed against them by other foreigners in the Islands. It is sufficiently evident that a great jealousy has prevailed between the English and Americans established there. It is difficult to say on which side the most embittered feelings have been exhibited; but it must be confessed that if on the side of the Americans a tendency to domineer and to avail themselves unfairly of their influence with the native Govt. has been not unfrequently visible, the conduct of the English residents has certainly not been marked either by prudence or by a spirit of conciliation. In fact it appears to have been as nearly as possible the reverse of what good sense and good policy would have dictated.

It is clear that it is not by openly striving against the dominant influence of the Americans that we can hope to combat it with effect. The Americans, having in the first instance obtained a paramount controul over the natives by their religious efforts, and being both by their numbers, by the weight of established authority, and also by their landed acquisitions by marriage or otherwise, superior, in point of political and social position to other foreigners resident in the Islands, will continue, in spite of our efforts, to exercise that controul.

Under these circumstances our policy ought to be to seek to conciliate the real rulers of the Islands, not by any unbecoming subserviency, but simply by observing towards them a proper courtesy of demeanor, and by giving them fair credit for the good which they do. At the same time we should seek, by our propriety of conduct, our fair-dealing, our steady observance of the laws, when justly administered, and our firm but temperate determination to insist upon their just administration, to inspire all persons, whether native or foreign, with confidence and respect.

If palpable injustice is done to a British subject, that injustice must be repaired without delay or subterfuge; and care should be taken to impress this necessity constantly on the minds

of the Sovereign and his Chiefs, as well as on those persons in whose hands the Govt. may be practically placed. But on no occasion should intemperate language or disrespectful demeanor be indulged in either towards the Chiefs or towards the subordinate officials of Govt.

By pursuing such a course of conduct H. M. Govt. have little doubt that they will, in a short time, cease to have complaints presented to them of outrages or acts of injustice done in the Sandwich Islands towards British Residents.

From what has been above said you will be enabled to form a clear conception of the principles on which it is wished that you should regulate your official conduct. H. M. Govt. further think it desirable that you should apply yourself to every honorable means to gain the ear and confidence of the Sovereign of the Country and of his most influential Advisers. By so doing you may be enabled to obtain, without the necessity of official representation the correction, in embryo, of many an act, which, if not at once stopt, might lead to altercation, and a disturbance of our mutual friendly relations.

When the British Residents see that the principal British Authority assumes a temperate and courteous tone and bearing towards the Sovereign and his Advisers they will not be long in following his lead. We shall thus in due time substitute a kindly feeling and a spirit of good fellowship for those acrimonious and unconciliatory sentiments and demeanor which has so long prevailed on both sides, and to which, in great part, if not entirely, may be attributed the differences which have arisen between the two countries.

9. Aberdeen to Miller, Sept. 29, 1843.

(F. O. 58/21)

Without giving way to unreasonable jealousy or suspicion, it is desirable that you should constantly keep a vigilant eye on the proceedings of the French in the Pacific, and that you should report on them to Her Majesty's Government whenever you may have the means of safe communication. But I do not wish that you should make any parade of vigilance with respect to the French. The less you appear to watch them the more surely you will be able to do so with effect.

You will also not fail to exercise the same vigilance with regard to the United States.

10. *Aberdeen to Miller, July 1, 1844.*

(F. O. 58/24)

Our only object is to secure the independence and permanent well-being of that country. . . .

All that the British Govt. desire is that British Subjects and British interests in general should be placed upon the same footing with the subjects and interests of other Countries, and also that that footing should be such as to prevent, so far as possible, all future misunderstanding and contention between the respective Govts.

11. *J. F. T. Crampton, British Ambassador to the United States, to the Earl of Clarendon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (No. 181), Nov. 20, 1853.*¹

(F. O. 5/567)

[In obedience to instructions he has discussed with Mr Marcy² the subject of the endeavour on the part of certain American citizens to effect the annexation of the Sandwich Islands to the United States.]

I began by remarking to Mr. Marcy that official reports had reached Her Majesty's Government of the proceedings of certain persons, chiefly Americans, in the Sandwich Islands, which menaced the independence of the existing Government. Her Majesty's Government, I added, by no means inferred that the machinations of the persons in question are known to or sanctioned by the Government of the United States. Her Majesty's Government, I said, had received this intelligence with regret, inasmuch as no attempt from whatever quarter it might proceed, which threatened the Existence of the Sandwich Islands as an independent State could be received with indifference by Great Britain. The views of Her Majesty's Government in regard to this matter are, I remarked, well known, and are embodied in an official declaration made by them, in conjunction with the Government of France, in 1843, to which declaration the Government of the United States was at that time invited by her Majesty's Government to become a party.

¹This and the following documents relate to the movement for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States in 1853-4, and show what was done by the British government to prevent the success of that movement.

²William L. Marcy, Secretary of State of the United States in the administration of President Pierce.

Mr. Marcy replied, that he was aware of the Existence of the declaration I alluded to, tho' he had not lately perused the document, and that he was also aware that the United States had declined to become a party to it. Lord Clarendon, he added, is right in supposing that the machinations which are represented to have been made against the independence of the Sandwich Islands have not been suggested or sanctioned by this Government; no change of policy, said Mr. Marcy, has taken place in regard to this matter,—no new instructions have been given,—we are animated by the same desire as your Government and that of France to see the independence of the Sandwich Islands maintained. It is but fair to say, however, he continued, that we cannot blind ourselves to the fact, that there are causes which may render the maintenance of the Government of those Islands in its present form impracticable,—and that it may consequently fall into other hands; we have certainly no desire to precipitate such an event, and, above all, we would discountenance and do all we could to defeat any attempt to bring it about by force; but, if it must come; if the present Government of the Sandwich Islands must fall, and their admission to this Union be desired, I will not conceal from you that it is highly probable that the Government as well as the Congress and People of the United States would be disposed to receive them. I do not say that there would be no Constitutional difficulty as to the mode in which the annexation could be effected, or that there would be no opposition to it in any quarter,—this would be matter of discussion,—but I do say that if the offer of the Sandwich Islands was made to us legally and properly we should be disposed to accept the charge. On the other hand, as we have already declared, we should be constrained to resist strenuously any attempt on the part of Great Britain or France to obtain possession of those Islands.

I then stated to Mr. Marcy the substance of my conversation with Mr. Fillmore—and the readiness of Her Majesty's Govt. to enter into an agreement such as was then suggested by that President.¹

Mr. Marcy said that the Present President of the United

¹France and Great Britain had proposed a tripartite agreement with the United States, in which the three powers would renounce all territorial designs on Cuba. President Fillmore, speaking for himself personally, had suggested the inclusion of the Sandwich Islands in the agreement along with Cuba. See Crampton to Malmesbury (No. 97), July 12, 1852. F. O. 5/546.

States would not less decidedly oppose illegal expeditions in whatever quarter they might be contemplated or attempted than Mr. Fillmore had done, but Mr. Marcy did not conceal from me that a tripartite agreement in regard to the Sandwich Islands of the same nature as that which had been lately declined in regard to Cuba would not be entered into by the United States.

I did not think it necessary on this occasion to do more than again to direct Mr. Marcy's attention to the declaration by France and England of the 28th of November 1843, as a distinct indication of the frank and disinterested policy which had been adopted, and which would be maintained by Her Majesty's Government in regard to the Sandwich Islands, and to express my hope that the event which he seemed to apprehend of the dissolution of the Hawaiian Government from internal weakness or disunion might yet be averted.

12. Crampton to Clarendon (No. 224), Sept. 11, 1854

(F. O. 5/598)

[After having had a full discussion with the President Mr. Marcy grants Mr. Crampton an interview.]

Mr. Marcy stated "that if the Hawaiian Government was unfortunately reduced to such a state of weakness as to render its falling to pieces inevitable, the Government of the United States would not willingly see the Islands fall into the hands of any other Power, and in the case of such an event seeming to be imminent would not be indisposed to assume the Government of them itself," if, of course, Congress agreed, all of which he had stated in a previous conversation.

"Well," continued Mr. Marcy, "since I had that conversation with you, all the reports we have received tend to confirm the impression that the present Government of the Sandwich Islands cannot long be maintained; and also that a general desire exists both on the part of the King and of the great Majority of the Inhabitants, for annexation to the United States. Under these circumstances, I will not conceal from you that an Instruction was sent in May or June last to our Agent by which he was authorized to receive any proposition which might be made to him by the Hawaiian Government to that effect and to transmit them to us for the consideration of the Executive in the first instance."

13. *The Foreign Office to Crampton (No. 219) Oct. 6, 1854.*

(F. O. 5/592)

You will not disguise from the Secretary of State of the United States the unfavourable impression which has been made on Her Majesty's Government by the language which, in Your despatch No. 224 of the 11th of September, you report him to have held with regard to the Annexation of the Sandwich Islands to the United States. Her Majesty's Government do not deny that on previous occasions the language of Mr. Marcy on this question had been such as he represents it to have been; and that he has said before that the Government of the United States would not be indisposed in a certain contingency to assume the Government of the Sandwich Islands. But that contingency at the time Mr. Marcy made the statement was one, the occurrence of which no reasonable being could anticipate; for, to bring it about, it was necessary that England or France, the only two Powers with respect to whose intentions in the Pacific, the United States could entertain any jealousy, should disregard the faith which they had pledged to each other, should set aside formal declaration of the 28th of November 1843, to which it was not their fault that the Government of the United States was not a Party, and, for no adequate object, should incur the reproach of retracting engagements into which they had entered with each other, and, by implication, with the Govt. of the Sandwich Islands with that of the U. S., and with that of every other Power, having even the remotest interest in the Maintenance of the State of territorial Possession in the Pacific Ocean on its then existing footing; and H. M.s Govt. have yet to learn that either they or the Govt. of France have evinced any disposition to adopt so dishonourable a Policy.

It follows therefore that the statement previously made by Mr. Marcy, and to which Mr. Marcy refers, cannot be alleged in justification of the course which the Government of the United States appears now prepared to pursue.

But neither can it be alleged that the Govt. of the Sandwich Islands is at the present time reduced to such a state of weakness as should render its falling to pieces inevitable, which contingency was alluded to by Mr. Marcy as the condition precedent of the contingency to which his declaration referred. There is nothing in the Constitution or in the Administration of the Govt. of the Sandwich Islands which should render its dis-

solution inevitable or immediate; and H. M.'s Govt. will not do the Govt. of the U. S. the injustice to suppose that it would be willing to take advantage of the restless and intriguing spirit which has unfortunately been too much exhibited by certain Citizens of the U. S. seeking to bring about the annexation of those Islands to the American Union, and regardless, so long as they have any hope of effecting their purpose, of the solemn assurances of their Govt. H. M.s Govt. use this expression deliberately, and in justification of their employment of it, they appeal to the official language used by Mr. Upshur, the Secretary of State of the United States in his letter of the 5th of July 1843 to the British Minister at Washington in which Mr. Upshur distinctly speaks of the President as 'seeking to establish no undue advantages in the Sandwich Islands for Citizens of the U. S. at the expense of other Powers,' and as therefore receiving 'with pleasure the assurance that none such are sought for by Great Britain' and as not 'doubting that the recognition of the Independence and Sovereignty of those Islands will be found altogether compatible with every just claim of Great Britain, while it will best conduce to the interests of the Islands themselves and of all Nations having intercourse with them.'

Mr. Upshur's letter I need scarcely remind you, was in reply to a communication made to him by the British Minister on the 25th of the previous Month, in which the latter announced that the provisional occupation of the Sandwich Islands in the Name of Great Britain by the Commander of H. M. S. 'Carysfort' in virtue of a conditional cession thereof made by the King, was an act entirely unauthorized by H. M.s Govt; that H. M.s Govt. were resolved to adhere to their determination previously announced to recognize the independence of those Islands; that it had not been the purpose of H. M.'s Govt. to seek to establish a paramount influence in those Islands for Great Britain at the expense of that enjoyed by other Powers, and that all that had appeared requisite to H. M.s Govt. had been that other Powers should not exercise there a greater influence than that possessed by Great Britain.

Furthermore, H. M.s Govt. appeal in justification of the employment of the expression I have used, to the language held by Mr. Calhoun in June 1844 to the British and French Ministers at Washington, when declining on the part of the President, but on mere technical grounds connected with the peculiar institutions of the U. S., to make a formal declaration similar to

that made only a few months before by the Govts. of England and France,—he declared, nevertheless, that the Govt. of the U. S. highly applauded and participated in the spirit of the engagement concluded between England and France upon the subject of the Sandwich Islands; and that if the proposal to make such a declaration were submitted to him in writing, he was prepared in declining it, to give assurances of the disposition of his Govt. to respect the independence of the Sandwich Islands, as it was their desire to see it respected by other Powers.

Neither can H. M.s Govt., in stating the grounds which justified them in reckoning upon the forbearance of the U. S. to adopt any such course in regard to the Sandwich Islands as that which M. Marcy has avowed that the President is prepared to pursue, abstain from adverting to the formal and explicit declaration of the policy of the U. S. Govt. with regard to the Sandwich Islands, contained in the despatch of Mr. Webster of July 14, 1851 to Mr. Severance the U. States Commissioner at Honolulu, communicated officially to Sir Henry Bulwer on the 6th of August of the same year “that while the Govt. of the U. States itself faithful to its original assurance, scrupulously regards the independence of the Hawaiian Islands, it can never consent to see those Islands taken possession of by either of the Great Commercial Powers of Europe, nor can it consent that demands manifestly unjust and derogatory and inconsistent with a bona fide independence, shall be enforced against this Govt.’ And Mr. Webster prefaced this declaration by saying ‘The annunciation of this Policy will not surprize the Govts. of Europe, nor be thought unreasonable by the Nations of the Civilised World.’

Considering, then, these formal assurances on the part of Mr. Upshur, of Mr. Calhoun, and of Mr. Webster when severally holding the office of Secretary of State, and considering too the no less formal assurance given by Mr. Marcy himself that the willingness of the President of the U. States to consent to the annexation of the Sandwich Islands depended on a contingency which has not been, and is not likely to be, realized, H. M.s Govt. are justly entitled to feel surprise at the avowal made to you by Mr. Marcy on the 11th of September last that the President was prepared for himself to accept, and to recommend the Congress to accept the Sandwich Islands as an integral portion of the territory of the U. States.

Against any such incorporation of those Islands with the American Union H. M.s Govt. most strongly and decidedly

protest, and they trust that, upon reconsideration, the President of the United States will refrain from adopting the course which has been shewn to be inconsistent with the solemn assurances of successive administrations in the U. States.

You will read this despatch to Mr. Marcy, and furnish him with a copy of it.

14. *Earl of Clarendon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to William Miller, British Consul General in Hawaïi*
(No. 7), June 26, 1854.

(F. O. 58/79)

Her Majesty's Government have learnt with great satisfaction that the attempts to bring about the annexation of the Sandwich Islands to the United States have been so completely defeated, and principally owing to the stand in favour of Independence which has been made by Prince Alexander and John Ii, a Member of the Upper House; and I have to instruct you to convey to the Prince and to such other Persons as you may think expedient the expression of that satisfaction on the part of her Majesty's Government.

15. *Clarendon to Miller* (No. 8), Aug. 10, 1854.

(F. O. 58/79)

[Instructs him] carefully to watch the Agents and Supporters of Annexation, and to use your utmost efforts in conjunction with your French Colleague to defeat their Schemes.

16. *Clarendon to Miller* (No. 10), Oct. 4, 1854.

(F. O. 58/79)

Her M.s Govt. learn with extreme regret and displeasure, from the contents of your Dispatch No. 18 of the 27th of June last, that the advice given by them and by the French Govt. to the King and Chiefs of the Sandwich Islands, with regard to the impolicy of their alienating the Sovereignty of those Islands, should have been disregarded; and I have to instruct you to make known the feelings of Her M.s Govt. in this matter to the King and to such of the Chiefs as you may think expedient.

17. *Clarendon to Miller (No. 12), Nov. 14, 1854.*

(F. O. 58/79)

In the event of the King finding it necessary to relinquish His Independence, Her M.'s Govt. would much prefer that he should apply to be placed under the joint protection of Great Britain, France and the United States, to his applying for annexation to the latter Power, and you will continue to insist upon the adoption by the King of the course which you have pointed out.

18. *Clarendon to Miller (No. 13), Nov. 28, 1854.*

(F. O. 58/79)

You will continue to use your utmost efforts to prevent the Annexation of the Sandwich Islands to the United States: and if the King considers that he cannot carry on the Government independently, You will again urge him to place the Islands under the joint protectorate of England, France and the United States.

19. *Clarendon to Miller (No. 15), Dec. 15, 1854.*

(F. O. 58/79)

I have now . . . to direct you, in the event of a Treaty being signed for the annexation of the Sandwich Islands to the American Union, to protest in the name of Her Majesty's Government, against that Act.

You will proceed in this matter in concert with your French Colleague, who will be instructed to make a similar Protest in the name of the Government of France.

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